

## RAIL STRIKE CURB IS DUE THIS WEEK

President Expected to Move  
to Defer Unions' Walkout

WASHINGTON, March 31 (AP)—President Kennedy is expected to step in this week to block for 60 days the threat of a nationwide railroad strike.

The mandate of a recent Supreme Court decision is due to become effective tomorrow, leaving the railroads free to announce the manpower cuts they have been urging for nearly four years to realize \$600,000,000 annual savings.

N. Y. T. April 1, 1963

The First of May - holiday of working men and women throughout the world - this year will find U.S. workers with little to celebrate about. The two clippings in this box tell a part of the story. In fact, it is becoming fashionable for newspapers and magazines to write about "the crisis of automation" and "the paradox of unemployment." But for millions of workers, the crisis is more than clever newspaper reports. It is empty stomachs. It is sick despair. Most of all, it is looking desperately for some solution.

The solution is something the slick magazines never offer. They do not have the solution.

The May issue of PROGRESSIVE LABOR will discuss the meaning of May Day in this present crisis and the solution we see, as well as a detailed article on the Kennedy's express train to unemployment in the Railroad industry.

By latest government count, there are 2.2 million workers unemployed so long that they have exhausted all their unemployment compensation benefits—and the figure is growing by 40,000 a week. There are uncounted millions more who have been forced into involuntary retirement for lack of work, who have failed to qualify for unemployment compensation, or who have never worked at all. The brunt of the burden falls on those least able to bear it—the young and the old, the Negro, the man with outmoded skills or no skills at all, the man living in a depressed area, and the unskilled woman, either widowed, divorced, or deserted, who must toil to support herself and her children. This is what Labor Secretary Wirtz

Newsweek, April 1, 1963

# PROGRESSIVE LABOR

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APRIL, 1963

## N.Y. Printer's Strike: An Analysis

By Milton Rosen

The "leaders" of the International Typographical Union (ITU), headed by Elmer Brown, hailed and accepted Mayor Wagner's formula for settling the long strike. The officers and scale committee, of local 6 (ITU), which led the strike, unanimously rejected the Mayor's package. However, "under the circumstances of the ITU Executive Council's action," the local officers and the scale committee "felt that the best interests" of the N.Y. Local 6 would be served by accepting the contract based on the Mayor's proposals.

The striking workers in effect rejected the settlement twice. The first vote was 1,621 against - 1,557 for. The second ballot was carried by a 779 majority of the local members. But the 2,500 who voted to accept were for the most part the non-striking section of the local, the workers in the "job shops" - the ones paying out the 3% to the strike fund every week. The 1,700 who voted to reject the offer the second time were the newspaper printers who still maintained that the Mayor's package was unsatisfactory. Obviously a great deal of effort was exerted between the first rejection and the "acceptance" to corral enough of the non-strikers to the Madison Square Garden meeting.

The historic 114-day strike ended with partial success and serious divisions within the ranks of the union. The strike also threw great light on what workers in the rest of the industry and in others face if they are going to attempt to fight against automation. The involvement of the federal, state, and municipal governments was a key factor - one which the publishers desperately needed in order to prevent the complete defeat of their positions.

The striking printers armed with an enormous strike fund doling out handsome benefits, and with a fair degree of internal unity, especially in the New York area, were an imposing force for the publishers and their governmental allies.

The essentials of the workers' discontent with the settlement was put forward clearly in statements and resolutions of several of the Chapels. Resolutions of the Long Island Press Chapel indicated the following:

1. The unanimous rejection of the Mayor's plan;
2. To accept the proposals would be an admission of defeat, especially when the tide was turning with the resumption of publishing the Post;
3. Why accept only a few dollars more than could be gotten without such a long strike, or without any strike;
4. More economic and welfare gains could have been gotten and they should have started the first year of the contract.

The Journal American and Mirror Chapel put it this way:

1. The proposals do not contain improved welfare;
2. Nor adequate sick leave;
3. Nor longer vacations;
4. Nor substantial increase in wages;
5. Nor clear language, and more protection on TTS, (teletype) paste make-up, and photo composition;
6. All economic benefits should take place the first year of the contract.

The International union characterized the strike as a complete victory. They based their conclusion on the

### IN THIS ISSUE:

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following:

1. The right of the union to negotiate its own contract and not have to accept a pattern or formula established by others (The Newspaper Guild);
2. Establishment of the principal that union members would not lose jobs because of automation and would share in any savings;
3. Shorter work day for all newspaper workers making, within a year, a work week of 35 hours days and nights, 33 3/4 hours lobster;
4. The two-year economic gain, not counting the reduction in hours, amounts to \$12.63.

### Leaders Dump

The International union leadership had no intentions of reopening negotiations after the membership rejected the Mayor's plan. Elmer Brown, ITU President, made it quite clear that the International would stop the strike benefits to the workers. Brown's contempt for the feelings of the men was public. Speaking to the press and TV after the rejection he said: "Reasonableness will prevail now that the emotions are over with...." He believed "that the members will now consider what's in the package, not that some person yells from the floor or into a microphone." (The workers had booed and shouted down the leadership and the terms of agreement at the original ratification meeting.)

Bertram Powers, President of Local 6, took the same line; he said: "It may be that after the members have time to reflect they might come to the same conclusion as their officers."

Undoubtedly Powers was influenced by the general attitude of labor chiefs Meany and Harry Van Arsdale who indicated through spokesmen that if the local kept up the strike all support would be withdrawn, and that the printers would be "alone." The publishers responding to the cue of the labor skates said that they would not consider any more negotiations. Wagner, in tune with the bosses he fronts for, refused to be involved in any further deliberations.

The combination of the Government, the bosses, the union leaders, and the ability to isolate the printers from the other workers in the industry, proved to be too much. The historic 114-day strike came to its end. But if the printers through their militancy didn't win all of their demands, they did hold the line on a number of questions. More important, they demonstrated the vital necessity and the possibility of maintaining and using the strike weapon. The strike also pointed out to the entire labor movement that if automation is to be answered it will take an all out effort by the unions. No union is going to deal seriously with automation even in a minimal way unless it is well organized, prepared to strike over a long period, has good internal unity within the particular industry, and the general support of the working class. Important is the ability to win over large segments of the general "public," who are in many cases non-organized workers, office, technical, industrial and professional workers. In order to win over these various forces to the side of the unions, the unions must reach these people with their story to show them why their strike is not only in the interests of the strikers but also in the interests of all workers. To be able to do this requires clarification of the issues especially the issue of automation.

If substantial gains are going to be made in regard to automation, a more fundamental class strategy will

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have to unfold. In addition to prerequisites mentioned in the preceding paragraph, a strong political current must emerge. Labor must in the first place reject the illusion that the government is impartial and above the battle. This would lead to the refusal to deal with third party "arbitration" forces. (Government) (The printers are traditionally opposed to third party intervention in their affairs. Allowing Wagner into the negotiations, or dealing with him in any serious way was a retreat from their own principles, and paved the way for the avalanche of forces to crash down on the rank and file.) As the workers develop a clear concept of the role of the government they will face the problem of attempting to challenge the ruling class in at least a limited way for political control: Workers running for political office would offer a real alternative to the Wagners and Rockefellers.

Secondly, the workers will have to abandon narrow craft interests. Within the present union outlook of dealing with automation, the printers outlook included, lie the seeds of self destruction. The union fights automation solely from the point of view of preserving only those jobs that exist now. Most unions are willing to accept the concept of attrition. (That is, no workers on the job now should be laid off due to automation, but as workers leave the industry their jobs will not be filled.) While this is an improvement over simply doing nothing (which has been the case in the past) it certainly doesn't provide for guaranteeing the entry of new workers into the industry, and therefore doesn't leave much hope for the future of the unions themselves. Unfortunately, most union leaders have resigned themselves to the scheme that as their domains shrink they will correspondingly raise the dues of the members to keep the pork barrel well larded. Mayor Wagner's proposal on automation was well tailored to the idea of attrition. The new contract clause is as follows:

.... It is agreed that the use of such outside tape shall not result in job loss to any situation holder of record as of December 7, 1962. Neither shall a substitute of record on December 7, 1962, who subsequently attains situation holder status be laid off for lack of work because of the use of such outside tape.

The number of situations in effect on a week for week basis for the 12-month period prior to December 8, 1962, shall be the guideline for minimum number of such employees of record who must be retained in any given week. The guideline thus established shall be adjusted to reflect changes in methods, operations, economic conditions, calendar variations, and other factors demonstrating that a given layoff is not directly and solely the

result of the use of such outside tape....

Obviously, this clause makes no mention of new replacements into the industry. Therefore we can say that the idea of attrition is now in force. That is, unless the union doesn't clarify the ambiguity of the language and allows the publishers to eliminate even the present jobholders in a semi-legal manner. Then it won't be even attrition - it will simply be mayhem. And the minimum gains of the strike in relation to automation will be wiped out.

At the present time the ITU in New York City represents only 40% of the printing workers. The union has operated on the principle that if you control the largest establishments the future is secure. They have felt confident that high wages could be maintained under these conditions, and that high union dues would keep the machine well oiled. But as automation shrinks the work force in the large shops, and closes opportunities to new workers for relatively higher paying jobs. Old and new workers are forced into the unorganized low paying job shops or cut off work. This in turn has its effect even on the larger shops as it emboldens the publishers to take the hard line. They see that the workers have no place to go and are to a great extent at their mercy.

Narrow craft interests are devastating in the long run because they divide the workers. When you need the greatest unity for an immediate battle you find that it is not there in any fundamental way. The printers union has maintained a "jim crow" union up until this very moment. The number of Negroes holding skilled jobs in the organized shops could fit on the head of a pin. Herbert Hill, Labor Secretary of the NAACP has exposed this situation in the printing industry time and time again. And the failure to organize the new shops has made it impossible for Negro workers, even if they do catch an occasional skilled job, to earn the prevailing union rates. This could be extended to the Puerto Rican workers as well. Two million Negroes and Puerto Ricans live in NYC today. What a fantastic source of strength exists within these areas for unity and progress of all workers if the labor movement were not shackled with the racist outlook of their white leaders and white bosses.

Finally, the workers will have to learn, if only for selfish ends, the relationship between our government's oppression of workers and the entire cold war strategy

WHEREAS after being on strike for more than three months the proposal does not contain the things it should, such as an Improved Welfare Plan, adequate sick leave, longer vacations, substantial increase in money, clear language and more protection on T.T.S., paste makeup, photo composition, and all changes to take place the first year, and

WHEREAS we owe it to the members of all the craft unions, the entire labor movement, the ITU membership and to each other, that we maintain our self respect.

THEREFORE be it resolved that the Journal-American-Mirror Chapel is opposed to the proposal and recommends its rejection.

AND, be it resolved that President Powers, Vice President Crockett, and the members of the Scale Committee reconsider their recommendation of its acceptance in view of the fact that their first obligation is to Typographical Union No. 6.

of the bosses. The administration had to halt this strike because it might serve as a positive example to other workers, thus setting off the possibilities of further class wars: Strikes that could lead to the encroachment of profits, weakening the ability of the giant corporations to control the world markets. Kennedy came down hard on the strikers precisely at the very moment the bosses solid front was about to give way. Kennedy said, "The strike has passed the point of public toleration" and accused Bertram Powers of "attempting to impose a settlement" that would "shut down several newspapers and throw thousands out of work." He demanded that the printers end the strike or else. The administration used the strike as a lever to push for additional anti-strike legislation and to split the working class, demagogically saying that the printers were provoking anti-strike legislation and compulsory arbitration on all of labor by continuing the strike.

### Mr. President

The President, hypocritical as ever, didn't refer to the lock-out of five of the papers, or the well known reasonable offer of the union to work these papers without retroactivity. Not one New York paper is closing as a result of the strike. In fact their profits will be higher than ever this year as well as their newsstand prices. The Post, the paper that "couldn't stand a long strike," or any meaningful settlement, was the first to break the publishers ranks and run for the Easter money trough. Dorothy Schiff, millionaire owner of the Post, who had claimed her paper destitute at the beginning of her lock-out, said when she resumed publication; "Over the years our earnings have been substantial. In 1962 we expected large losses because of the introduction of costly stock tables. The predicted deficit did not materialize due to increased revenue from circulation and advertising and economies in operation." Amory Bradford, head of the publishers association, and publisher of the "hard pressed" Herald Tribune said; "The settlement won't threaten the survival of any paper."

While the unions in words rejected Kennedy's mandate, they, in fact, were stamped into the arms of "pro-labor" Wagner. Undoubtedly the assault of the administration softened up the union leadership for accepting third party mediation by the Mayor.

### AUTOMATION AND THE STRIKE:

From the very beginning automation was the underlying cause of the printers' strike. This is the only conclusion that can explain why a conservative craft union (Local 6) which had never struck in modern history took on the strongest publishing group in the world. It also explains why a "tight fisted" union was ready to invest millions in strike fund benefits. However, if automation was the key issue of the strike, one would not have guessed it from the general propaganda that the union issued in the early and middle stages of the strike. In that period, the union concentrated its fire on the publishers' tactics and their demands for fringe benefits. Only in the last stages of the strike were the public and other unionists aware that automation was a central issue. (See PL, January, 1963.) Several reasons can

# VOTE AGAINST

## MAYOR WAGNER'S PROPOSAL

*The following Resolution unanimously adopted at a*

*Special Meeting of the L. I. Press Chapel on Tues., March 12, 1963*

Rank and File Said No!

possibly explain the reticence of the union on this question:

1. The ITU, as all other unions have accepted and endorsed the notion put forward by the ruling class that automation would affect only the unskilled and semi-skilled workers, that automation would create more jobs—not less. Consequently, the ITU has gone along and supported the overall policies of the Kennedy administration. They understood that a sharp struggle on automation would bring them into sharp collision with their "friend"—the President. The entire concept of who would, in fact, benefit from automation would be in question. Once questioned, it is obvious that only the employers are having a bonanza from automation. The workers have been receiving a very simple reward for elevating the technology of the nation. **UNEMPLOYMENT!**

2. Because of the political outlook of the ITU, the union has no real program for dealing with automation. Therefore, when the bosses raise the question of feather-bedding the union goes on the defensive. After all, say

York would ask what happened to us. The Reporter of March 14, in an article by Richard Severo had this to say: "Outside New York, developments in newspaper automation are coming swiftly and dramatically. Last December 2, a week before New York's shutdown started, an RCA 301 electronic computer was pressed into operation at the Los Angeles Times. Subsequently, the same 301 was adapted for use at the West Palm Beach Post Times. The 301 utilizes tape too. Its differences from TTS are vast and its implications extend far beyond the interests of the printers. For one thing, it can handle not only the original story on punched tape but the corrections as well. It digests everything then spits out a perfect tape that can be fed into a linecaster. RCA says that the 301 can punch tape fast enough to fill a twenty-one inch newspaper column in seventeen seconds, fast enough to keep sixty typesetting machines operating around the clock. For another thing, it eliminates the need for an operator to punch tape. With the 301, the reporter does that and does it without having to learn a

## Newspaper Profits, Up Sharply In '62, Seen Even Higher In '63

Guid Reporter 3/22/63

Newspaper profits increased dramatically last year and will continue to rise this year.

In 1962, average increases in profits ranged from 65 percent for the smallest papers to 17 percent for the largest.

This year, the big city dailies predict an even larger increase than last year—up from 17 to 25 percent.

These represent the findings of the Gallagher Report in its first analysis of the state of the U.S. press. The survey presents a composite picture of newspapers. It represents replies from 348 —

about a fifth of the nation's dailies.

The Gallagher Report is a weekly newsletter to advertising, marketing and media executives, edited and published in New York City by Bernard P. Gallagher, a negotiator for sales of communications properties.

The survey covers four major classifications by circulations: under 10,000; 10,000-49,999; 50,000-249,999; 250,000 and over.

Profits were up for most newspapers in 1962 in each circulation group, the Gallagher survey indicates.

Under 10,000: 71 percent of

the papers in this group reported increases in profits, with the average increase 65 percent over 1961.

10,000-49,999: 76 percent reported increases in profits averaging 34 percent.

50,000-249,999: 56 percent reported increases in profits averaging 21 percent.

250,000 and over: 100 percent reported increases in profits averaging 17 percent.

With the exception of the top circulation group, most of the papers predicted smaller increases in profits for 1963, ranging from

(Continued on Page 6)

Pity the impoverished publishers!

the publishers, we have the right to introduce new technology and to eliminate costly make-work practices (reproduction type from outside shops).

Hopelessly entwined in all the bosses political corruption, - "National interest," anti-communism, cold-war crusade, wage and hour freeze, and other variations on these themes, the unions hope that the government will come to their aid. But after striking for 80 days the only assistance they received from Kennedy was back-to-work-or-else. Desperate, and driven by the over-all militancy of the rank and file, Powers finally came out and said that automation was the "key" issue in the strike, in order to justify the continuation of the strike.

3. Running through the course of the strike has been the underlying atmosphere of antagonisms between the local leadership and the International Union. It was rumored that the International was not favorably disposed to the strike. Certainly Elmer Brown's pell-mell rush to accept the settlement over the heads of the workers tends to bear this out. What appears to be the case is that the International Union has allowed automation to be introduced at will all over the country except in a few cases where the workers rebelled. The New York strike could have exposed this situation and undermined the leadership. Workers in other cities and some in New

York would ask what happened to us.

Various forms of intense automation have been introduced into other cities for years without objection from the union. The Oklahoman and Times, The Louisville Courier Journal, Indiana Tribune, The Miami Herald, and the Western Edition of The New York Times are but a few. Ten years ago the Wall Street Journal introduced inside and outside tapes.

In the near future all publishers will be pushing for conditions that will make printers a thing of the past.

### To Win

The International Union has not only refused to alert its membership to this enormous danger, but actually discourages the rank and file from flaying out at a situation they see confronting them. To the degree that the rank and file moves against automation does it more and more bring into the open the startling implication of the new technology. It also forces into clearer focus the class-collaborationist positions of the leadership, and the role of the government as agent for the bosses. Sporadic, isolated resistance, without a clear program makes the workers appear as if they are against progress, attempting to stop the machines and allow the bosses' image of featherbedding to stick in the public's mind. As



Hazard Kentucky



For latest news see story P.9  
Recent Floods Hit  
Miners Hard

long as the unions refuse to embark on an independent course they will always have to fight on the bosses' terms. Under these conditions their best hopes can only be to slow down the onrushing situation. But in most situations they will lose and the workers will become increasingly frustrated and cynical.

The rank and file revolt against the union leaders, publishers and the politicians, is one of the most significant outgrowths of the strike. It proves the burning desire amongst the workers for job security and decent wages, which they believed the settlement did not provide. This demonstrates the reserves of militancy that still exists in the working class. But this militancy will be dissipated if the workers cannot draw political conclusions from their efforts and act on them.

The working class doesn't have to be defensive on automation. It is their energies and skills that create the wealth of the land, and make possible the educational facilities necessary for developing new techniques. The demand of workers should not be merely to share these benefits, but to control and utilize them for their own welfare and the benefit of the general population. This is their indisputable right. An intermediate program of shorter hours, automation funds, moratorium on all layoffs, organizing the unorganized, equal opportunities for all workers, and rank and file political control and organization can be important avenues of effort in the coming period. This in turn will begin to pose the question as to whether the workers' problems of automation, or any other workers' problems, can be solved under capitalism. Who should own the machines will, more and more, be a seriously considered question in the coming period.

Socialism is on the order of the day! The printers strike and the general condition within the printing industry demonstrate the contradictions confronting United States workers. Only socialism can unravel these contradictions and put the machines and the state apparatus in the hands of the workers - WHERE IT BELONGS!

## Report On Readers Conference

The following is a very brief summary of the meeting:

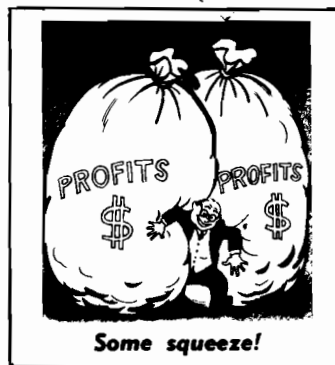
The opening report outlined the development of the PL movement and the magazine from its first issue in January, 1962 until the present, in brief, indicating some of the changes - the expansions in scope - which have taken place. The report proposed that the sole criterion for criticizing the magazine should be: Does the magazine achieve its purpose and what could make it achieve its purpose better? The purpose, according to the report with which there was general agreement, is to bring to the people of the U.S. - and especially the working people, news of events which the commercial press hides or distorts, and an analysis of this news which will lead to a growing understanding of the need for a Revolutionary Socialist Party of Labor. In particular, this job must concentrate on the role of the state as tool and tool-maker of the big monopolies, and especially the vicious and demagogic role of the Kennedy administration. The report proposed that the magazine continue to concentrate on domestic rather than foreign news, and serve as a megaphone for the PL movement's program.

In brief, to reach the U.S. working class with our program, and to mobilize the working class around that program.

The criticism made fell generally into two categories - style and content: In terms of style, just briefly to mention a few: The general feeling was the magazine has been improving steadily, and the criticisms were made to help continue in that direction. 1. Develop the newsstand approach in layout; 2. Cut out cliches; 3. Better proof-reading; 4. Use more subheads in long stories; 5. Tighten up on jumping stories - make the jump clear, or the end clear; 6. Cartoons should relate to the articles if possible; 7. Inserted clippings, etc., should be clearly separated from other material; 8. The front-page index should always appear, and appear more prominently if possible.

A couple of specific content proposals which were made were: 1. A regular PL edition in Spanish, or a supplement; 2. A regular feature on What Socialism Means to the United States of America.

But the basic criticisms raised were: 1. There is a real need for more analysis in the articles. We should be more clear on what we can take for granted (i.e., the boss is bad, the government's corrupt) and spend more time on explaining REASONS and WHAT CAN BE DONE. 2. In relation to What Can Be Done, the magazine is ge-



erally not politicalized enough. There is a lack of political solutions proposed to the extent that some readers have actually received the impression that PL was an economist magazine. 3. Most important, the magazine is not being used as an organizing tool, and is not reflecting our organizational work (or perhaps it is reflecting our organizational work). The magazine must not be viewed as an end in itself - for if it is, then we don't need a political movement. And if we don't need a political movement, we really don't need a magazine. Only if it is used PUBLICLY by every club on the streets, in the centers, in demonstrations, - and only if clubs fill the magazine with news and analysis of what's happening in their respective areas - will it be a truly valuable magazine.

#### The following proposals were adopted:

1. Every club shall elect a representative to a permanent editorial board which will increase club participation in the magazine and plan out issues well in advance. The editorial board shall review the suggestions made at this conference and work to apply as many of them as possible. Those clubs out of New York should assign an editorial representative to be in touch with the board and send in that person's name and address at once.

2. Every club shall discuss at its next meeting the public role of the magazine, PL, in its work.

3. Every club should prepare an article for PL on its area conditions, activity, and issues facing the people and what the club intends to do about them.

## PL Action

### AN APPEAL FOR SOLIDARITY WITH THE STRIKING MINERS

**30,000 COAL MINERS OF SOUTHEASTERN KENTUCKY**  
**HAVE BEEN ON STRIKE FOR 6 MONTHS** because of bad conditions and very low wages. They and their families are completely destitute. They are hungry and cold. They say they will continue their strike as long as they can eat, but they need clothes, food, and money immediately.

We are collecting money and clothes to send to the miners. Money is needed to ship the clothes to Kentucky and to buy food. All kinds of clothes (and shoes) for men, women, and especially children, are needed.

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MAY AREA PROGRESSIVE LABOR • P.O. BOX 843 • SAN FRANCISCO 1, CALIFORNIA

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#### AUTOMATION

In the current rash of strikes that have occurred in the past year (newspaper, longshore, transportation, Lockheed, etc.) there is one dominant issue: automation. These workers do not want to join the nation's 6,000,000 and ever growing army of unemployed.

But why are so many being laid off? Why can't everybody in this country have a job? As youth who will soon be out looking for work, we protest the fact that this country is being so mis-managed it cannot employ its population.

MEETING: Discussion on automation, with proposals for action.

PROGRESSIVE LABOR CLUB

Thurs. March 21

407 Hamilton

8:30 PM

### A PROGRAM FOR REVOLUTION

Speaker: MILTON ROSEN

Chairman of the Progressive Labor Movement

Thursday, April 11, 1963

room 202 Hamilton

8:00 PM

# BUFFALO LABOR SKATES "FIGHT" FOR JOBS

The unemployed workers of Buffalo received some heartening news in the local press recently. The headline read: "AFL-CIO Plans Attack On Unemployed Here". Welcome news indeed!

The plans for this "attack" were revealed by AFL-CIO Council President, James L. Kane in his speech before some 200 Council delegates. Brother Kane indicated that the governmental programs undertaken to combat unemployment here are of doubtful value. Certainly any unemployed worker can easily agree with Brother Kane's keen observation. After all, since 1958, unemployment has not gone below the 6.9% level. As a matter of fact it was 9.12% for quite a period of time. Is not this area one of the most chronically hit in the state? This despite governmental aid.

In his forthright statement Brother Kane said, "I do not see any simple solutions. There is only one way to combat unemployment. There must be some extra activity on our part". Bravo, Brother Kane! "No simple solutions"! "Combat unemployment"! "Some extra activity"! Bravo!

When Brother Kane speaks of "no simple solutions", one waits with bated breath. To expect him to attack capitalism and advocate socialism is, of course, going a little too far. (Really, isn't that solution rather simple?) Leaving aside the sublime (consider seriously, his background and breeding), does Brother Kane concern himself with problems of automation, speedup, shorter work week, youth apprenticeship training, welfare, and unemployment insurance, or any of a host of problems confronting the unemployed today? No! He does not!

But the reader might exclaim, "Why such narrowness? Give Brother Kane a chance. What makes you think you have all the answers? After all, Kane is the leader of 100,000 trade unionists. He got there without your help". (Thank God.)

Okay, let's hear what Brother Kane has to offer.

Brother Kane proposes that the Buffalo AFL-CIO Council seek two "trouble shooters" (patience now) who will attack the hardcore unemployment problem in the Buffalo area by keeping tabs on construction projects and helping industrial unions and their managements to iron out their problems. (Be patient!) One of the men, says Kane, will make it his business to know the status of every construction project - especially government projects - and work toward shaking the politicians loose. This will expedite the projects and make jobs. The other will act as a liaison man who will contact unions, managements, government and other unions if necessary with a view to helping all to cross barriers that may be standing in the way of the planned work. (That's what he says.)

How is this going to help the unemployed? Kane told you it was "no simple solution".

It's obvious that our unemployed brother is not grasping the logic of Brother Kane's not so simple "solution". After all, looking for work, trying to feed a family

on unemployment insurance, welfare or surplus food dulls the senses to such verbal complexities. This is what Brother Kane is saying: Let the trade unions help make capitalism work better on the Niagara Frontier. Let's prime the pump. Let's "shake loose the politicians" of the construction jobs promised for the Niagara Frontier, and help the bosses with our other trouble shooter who will work, hand in glove, to see that the workers don't do anything to disrupt the production schedules.

Don't be too bitter if you are not a construction worker who would welcome even this faint attempt at pump priming. Because it is quite obvious that the depressed state of the economy has affected the Buffalo AFL-CIO Council also. Lo and behold, they are beset by their financial problems.

Brother Kane points out that arrangements are not worked out yet to pay for the "trouble shooters". This indeed augurs ill for the project. He (tongue in cheek?) however, has hope that possibly the larger local unions might provide some full time men from their staffs. But not waiting for this proposal to be acted upon, Kane said that expenses could come from the proceeds of a Labor Day dinner planned by the Council. (Be patient, unemployed brothers, Labor Day is only 7 months away!) The dinner is to be held at Memorial Auditorium - and it is hoped it will attract 3,000 - 4,000 unionists.

To wrap it up in a pretty package they will ask a member of the Kennedy official family (administrative or personal, it's becoming difficult to distinguish) to be a dinner speaker. (By the way, are these the same people responsible for the governmental programs to combat unemployment that Kane said were of doubtful value?) Well, there you have it. Now we see why this is no simple solution. It took imagination, daring foresight, and downright gall to work out this Rube Goldberg scheme.

But wait - let us not be warped in our cynicism, for there is some good that can come to the unemployed out of this dismal situation:

- \*That the unemployed be given the first seats at the dinner - free of charge, of course! (Sacrilege! The AFL-CIO Council stands for the dignity of Labor - not charity.)

- \*That Kane and their cohorts on the Niagara Frontier give up some of their ridiculous salaries. (Cut out your tongue!)

- \*That the trade union leaders conduct some mass struggles for jobs - to demand 60,000 jobs be created on the Niagara Frontier. (A Communist! Get him!)

I said let us not be warped in our cynicism. If all goes well, let's urge a full attendance at the dinner - consider the returns. Through diligent "extra activity" the powerful Niagara Frontier Trade Union Movement will have been successful in removing two "trouble shooters" from the roles of the unemployed

Read Full Story in Special May Issue of PL

THE NEW YORK TIMES, WEDNESDAY, APRIL 3, 1963.

*Rails to Dismiss Firemen Monday, 40,000 Face Jobs Loss*<sup>V</sup>

# "Kidnapping" Trial Due In Monroe, N.C.

"We are asking the world to take note of Monroe, to register its indignation and shock that a government which proclaims itself leader of the 'free world' persecutes its freedom-fighting youth."

NEGROES WITH GUNS, by  
Robert F. Williams

MONROE, NORTH CAROLINA — Anti-Negro acts of violence, fear, intimidation and a strange semblance of judicial procedure continue here, but hope prevails as the Monroe Youth Action Committee prepares a course of action. (In the past issues of PL - April, July-August 1962, and March 1963, there has been coverage of the "Kidnapping" case and other incidents of violence as well as the activities of the Monroe Youth Action Committee.) Two white youths, reportedly drunk, failing to provoke three Negroes into a fight, fired several shots at them from their car. Two of the bullets hit the car in which the Negroes were riding. Bill Rivers, one of the Negroes, returned the fire, hitting one of the whites in the arm and the other in the chest.

The two whites were released on \$500 bond each, and the three Negroes were held overnight in the county jail. The next morning two of the Negroes were released without charges while Bill Rivers was held in default of \$2,500 bond and charges of assault with a deadly weapon with intent to kill.

The Monroe Inquirer stated that Rivers had "reportedly" confessed. Feelings within the Negro community ran high on the possibilities of another miscarriage of justice. Following the incident several cars of whites drove through the Negro section shouting insults. The lack of shooting may be attributed to the fact that the Negro community is armed to meet violence with violence.

On March 29, Judge Griffin released Rivers, the Negro youth, and sentenced the two whites to a year in jail. The judge commented that if he had been Rivers he would have shot to kill. The significance of this verdict, a strange one for the south and Monroe in particular, is open to speculation. To this reporter, it appears as though outside pressure has had a sobering effect on the lawlessness of the judicial system in the South - although far from ending it - and has strengthened the hand of those forces concerned with continued pressure and a program of action. This may be true, too, in the case of Jayvann Covington, where the State Supreme Court of North Carolina ruled that his case must be returned to the local courts and be reheard by a desegregated jury. Trial will most likely be held in May when the court reconvenes.

Another incident which occurred only a month ago involved a Negro woman, a mother of two children, who

was brutally beaten up by the head of the Klan (Monroe is the S. E. North Carolina Center) and is unable to work due to her present condition. She was demanding from her employer the \$3 pay for her day's work (which consists of working from 6:30 AM until 6:00 PM six days a week, a sum considered high for domestic work). The klansman began to beat her and when she fell stunned against his car he got in and pushed her out into the street.

.....

.... On a date to be fixed after Mae Mallory is returned to North Carolina, my co-defendants will be brought to trial in Monroe, North Carolina. Only an aroused and outraged world opinion can possibly save them from the frame-up fate that the authorities have planned. Only an attentive world opinion, sharply focused on the Monroe courtroom, can possibly restrain the racist authorities...

Williams, in NEGROES WITH GUNS

Latest events in Mae Mallory's fight against extradition from Cleveland to Monroe to face charges of "kidnapping" have caused considerable stir among Monroe Negroes. Mae Mallory won a 30-day extended delay in Cleveland after the U.S. Supreme Court refused her petition for review of Ohio court rulings against her. Monroe officials returned emptyhanded but it appears certain that within this 30-day period the final appeal will be denied and Mae Mallory will be returned to stand trial along with Richard Crowder, Harold Reape and James Lowry. The court reconvenes on May 6th. (Williams remains in Cuba.)

The Muslims have talked about encircling the jailhouse in Cleveland to prohibit officials from moving Mae Mallory and demonstrations may be held in Raleigh, Chapel Hill and Monroe. Mae Mallory had been free for 7 days after spending over a year in a Cleveland jail. On hearing that her case had been turned down by the Supreme Court, she went to the courthouse to turn herself in, but officials prevented her from doing this by rushing down the courthouse stairs and rearresting her.

JOB EQUALITY remains one of the keys to the success of the movement in the south. The Charlotte Observer recently contained an article about a Michigan firm which intends to move to the south because of the cheap labor. This particular firm said that it could save \$1.7 million on cheap labor costs. Jobs are almost nonexistent for Negroes in Monroe and Union Counties with more than 1,000 Negroes permanently unemployed. I was told by an employment interviewer in Monroe that the maximum and minimum wage is about \$1.15 an hour and there is a scarcity of jobs. He said that one day last week over 250 people were in applying for jobs. Many Negroes are forced to travel over 25 miles to Charlotte for any available work.

The Monroe Youth Action Committee is preparing a course of action which will attack problems of job equality as well as enlisting the support of the whole Negro community in a voter registration drive. The intent is to elect independent Negro candidates who will continue the fight for equality and justice and the implementation of Robert Williams' 10-point program. PL will be covering the May trials as well as future developments.

## Cost Of Labor In South Could Save Firm \$1.7 Million A Year

By HARRY SNOOK  
Observer Staff Writer

Lower labor costs in the South could save a Michigan appliance maker an estimated \$1.7 million a year.

Charlotte Observer 3/26/63

Wages of Segregation



# Hazard Miners Hit From All Directions

By Camilo De Chispa

A combination of adverse factors is beginning to take its toll on the striking coal miners in Southeastern Kentucky. Injunctions, State and Federal, outlawing picketing has hit hard at the strategy of roving picketing. Sixty miner's leaders have been indicted for violating these injunctions. Both Berman Gibson and Lee Howell, principal leaders of the strike are facing possible stiff jail terms. Howell is out on \$64,000 bail. This is the highest bail placed on any of the strike leaders. Howell, leader of the workers in Floyd County, apparently is being held accountable for some of the most militant activities of the strike. It is said that he was the one who conceived the excellent tactic of the roving pickets. Howell's bail was furnished by small home owners putting up their homes as collateral. Pressure is so great against the militants that Howell was unable to secure counsel in the area to represent him at the injunction hearings. Fortunately, THE NEW YORK TRADE UNION COMMITTEE FOR SOLIDARITY WITH THE HAZARD MINERS, was able to secure an attorney in near-by Louisville.

Despite an important national campaign that has developed around the miners, little support has developed from the official sectors of the organized labor movement. Despite a new flood of rumors that THE UNITED MINE WORKERS UNION is secretly supporting the strike, the strikers have been ground down to the starvation level. If the UMW is supporting the strike—they are certainly to be commended for keeping a secret so well. There is not a tangible shred of evidence of this to support this claim even in a peripheral way. If the UMW couldn't support the strikers openly—surely such an experienced organization would have found the ways and means of preventing their people from being sub-

jected to starvation and terror. Certainly this significant union could have sparked a massive campaign within other unions for economic support—if only on humanitarian grounds. As it is, the support that has poured into Hazard has come from rank and filers, students, and many other interested parties.

In the area itself, the press, the police, the politicians, the FBI, and the owners have all collaborated in a campaign of terror and lies to force the men back to work. If all of this wasn't enough to retard the strike, the massive floods of a month ago devastated the few remaining resources of the heroic miner's families. The poor people's homes, it seems, are always built in the path of natural disasters. The rich can always place their homes out of harms way.

When the injunctions were secured many of the miners refused to work even if they couldn't picket. However, due to the extreme impoverishment (unemployment) of the area, and due to many of the above-mentioned factors, the operators were able to secure scabs, and many of the strikers saw no alternatives and returned to work. At this point much of the idled coal production is now being produced. Some scattered picketing is still going on. This includes "night picketing," when somehow or other mine entrances are blown shut. In the meantime the mass of miners and their leaders are considering ways and means of continuing the battle, when the injunctions are lifted and when the abnormal weather breaks.

A KEY tactic the mine owners are pursuing to prevent a full recurrence of the picketing, is to once again pay the 40¢ per ton into the union welfare fund. By giving in on this point they hope to accomplish the following: 1. Breaking the union rates of \$25 per day

## LIBEL OR TRUTH?

The truth obviously hurts the Hazard Herald, the Chief of police, the Perry County Sheriff, and the coal operators. But it is still the truth. And all the criminal libel suits in the world won't change that. PROGRESSIVE LABOR published it before, and — for the record — we'll say it again:

. The Chief of Police of Hazard has been paid by the operators for guarding their mines.

. Mrs. Nolan and the Herald held back thousands of dollars in food, clothing and cash which was sent to help the striking miners.

. Sheriff Combs assigned his men to help bring scabs through the picket lines.

. The operators hired "men" under 18 years of age, in violation of the child labor laws. They also paid less than state and federal minimum wage laws require.

**DID YOU KNOW?** In the history of the U.S. there have been only two criminal libel cases. The most recent, about 30 years ago, involved a Chinese language newspaper editor who was freed by a high court after an earlier conviction. The first instance of criminal libel was the John Peter Zenger case in 1735 when New York was a British colony. Zenger's acquittal is supposed to be the cornerstone of America's "Freedom of the Press."

THE COURIER-JOURNAL, LOUISVILLE, KY.,

## Student Held On Charge Of Libel In Mine Dispute

By FRED W. LUIGART, JR.  
Courier-Journal East Kentucky Bureau  
Hazard, Ky., March 28.—A former Ohio college student will be arraigned here Friday on charges of libel arising out of the labor-management dispute in the Eastern Kentucky coalfields.

Hazard police arrested the youth, Stephen J. Ashton, 20, of New York City, Wednesday afternoon at a Hazard tavern that serves as a gathering place for the roving pickets from Perry and Letcher counties.

### Documents Seized

They also seized approximately 300 copies of a mimeographed document that contains the allegedly libelous statements. The charges of libel were made in warrants obtained by City Police Chief Bud Luttrell; Mrs. W. P. Nolan, Hazard, business manager of The Hazard Herald, and

Hazard Herald 3/28/63

fically the communist sheet, Progressive Labor, has been distributed from Stacy's in recent months.

Much of Ashton's information was of the nature that it could have been gleaned from the pages of Progressive Labor, but some was apparently first-hand information.

down to the lowest possible levels. 2. By paying the 40¢ per mined ton into the welfare fund they hope to resurrect the UMW in the region. The UMW served as a good buffer between themselves and the men. Very often the UMW could accomplish that which they themselves were not capable of. This in turn would head off the possibilities of a new union (IBT) coming into the area, and prevent the organizing of a local independent union. 3. By maintaining the status-quo (slow death) in the area, the operators feel in time, that many of the people will leave the area out of desperation, thus eliminating large numbers of discontented workers.

What the mine owners can't understand is that the workers consider the area as their home. Many older miners see through the phony retraining propaganda. If there is no future for them in their own home, what future can be for them elsewhere. After all miners read—and they read of millions unemployed all over the country. They also see that the federal government which enjoins their strike in Kentucky can not and will not solve the workers' problems elsewhere. Therefore what confidence can the miners have in picking up and starting a "new life" elsewhere. The miners will stay in Kentucky and fight. If the strike has receded for the moment

it is because of the momentary unfavorable relationship of forces. Thousands of miners are on the march in Tennessee, West Virginia, and other mining areas. These movements could combine into a united battle. While labor has been slow in reacting to the problem as their own, the continued impact of automation will force the workers in all industries to seek nation wide alliances and action. New Berman Gibsons and Lee Howells will spring up all over. The setback is at best temporary.

But most important of all, the miners' spirit has not been crushed. At a recent mass meeting in Hazard hundreds of miners poured out to register their determination to fight through to the end. They view the present lull as temporary. Consequently, help is desperately needed. The fight must continue. The operators must be stopped from jailing the leadership in order to decapitate the movement.

Just as the miners view Kentucky as their rightful home, so in time will they consider the mines as their own. In coming to this realization, based on the sharpest experiences in order to maintain just union conditions, they will be confronted by the fundamental question; are they our machines and mines, or theirs?

"My People Have Caught Hell Long Enough"—

## NEGRO FREEDOM: A COMMENT

By Mort Scheer

1963 is the 100th year of the Emancipation Proclamation. February is known as Brotherhood Month and includes Negro History Week. Rochester is the city where Frederick Douglass edited his famous abolitionist newspaper, *North Star*, and was a famous stop on the freedom train of the Underground Railroad.

Yet in Rochester, in February, in 1963, the Negro people are engaged in bitter struggle for equality.

At a mass meeting on February 17th, representatives of the Black Muslims and the Rochester Branch of the NAACP called for a united front to defend the civil rights of Rochester Negroes. More than 600 people came to protest the recent wave of police brutality directed at Rochester Negroes. Among the recent cases of police violence and assault were:

\*The brutal beating of Rufus Fairwell, a service station worker, while he was in jail. He had been falsely charged with assaulting two cops. So crude was the frameup that the grand jury was forced to clear him of all charges. He is now suing the city for \$125,000 for the false arrest and injuries he received in jail.

\*The attack on A. C. White, a foundry worker. He was arrested on a charge of driving while intoxicated and was so badly beaten up after his arrest that he had to be taken to Strong Memorial Hospital. The four cops responsible for the assault were suspended without pay pending an investigation. However, WKBW Radio reported on February 21 that they had been reinstated.

\*The raid by Rochester police who broke into a Black Muslim religious meeting on January 6th. Subsequently 13 Muslims were arrested for having resisted the illegal police attack on their meeting. While in jail, the militant and youthful Muslims (almost all of the thir—  
(Comments and criticism of this article and/or the Muslim Movement are invited from readers - Ed.)

teen are between the ages of 19 to 26) conducted an eight day fast as a form of protest against their unjust arrest. After the eighth day they were released on \$500 bail each which was provided by Elijah Muhammed, national leader of the Muslims, when he became concerned for the health of the 13 young men.

The theme of the mass meeting was sounded by Reverend Wendell Phillips, President of the Rochester NAACP, where he called upon Negro groups to subordinate their differences and cooperate. "It's high time we unite", he said. Dr. Walter Cooper, chairman of the local community affairs committee of NAACP declared that "the community is at the crossroads in race relations." He said that the local NAACP has not been successful in achieving social justice through traditional methods and called upon "responsible" representatives of the white majority "to act instead of talk."

And how have some of these "responsible" white leaders reacted to the call "for deeds...not platitudes?"

Addressing the annual breakfast of the Rochester and Monroe County Brotherhood Week Committee, the Vice-President of the National Conference of Christian and Jews, Dr. James E. Eagan said, "In a sense the Black Muslims and the White Citizen Councils are the same in philosophy and methods. We know that you don't change attitudes by either moral exhortations or by hurling accusations from opposite sides of the street. You do it by using methods of educational persuasion and by bringing together all parties and intelligent dialogue.

"We know," Dr. Eagan continued, "that new techniques have to be used with key groups of leaders who

are willing to use these techniques in the solution of community conflicts without resort to scapegoating of exaggerated charges. The National Council of Christians and Jews tries to do this by working with leaders of PTAs, community organizations, schools and colleges, police and mass media."

Then Dr. Eagan presented two Annual Brotherhood Awards to two other "responsible" white leaders. Members of this Brotherhood Committee included the District Attorney, the Sheriff, the Chief of Police, a State Supreme Court Justice, a State Commissioner of Human Rights, and other "responsible" white leaders.

They are "responsible" all right. Responsible for the jailings, the frameups, the brutal beatings, and the continued sweet talk to cover up their crimes. They are for Brotherhood, they say. They are opposed to the KKK and White Citizen Councils, they say. But what do they do at their meetings? They attack the Black Muslims! They equate the violence of the oppressors with the self-defense of the oppressed! Don't exaggerate, they say. Don't hurl accusations, they say. Be patient they say. For them 300 years of slave and Jim Crow oppression isn't too long. What's needed, they advise, are new techniques of educational persuasion so that in another 100 years they can celebrate the 200th anniversary of the Emancipation Proclamation with more Brotherhood Meetings and Awards.

We've had enough of these "responsible" white leaders; enough of their hypocritical deceit, enough of their "respectability" enough of their false advice!

## THE MUSLIMS

At the mass meeting, Malcolm X, minister of Mosque No. 7, and a national Muslim spokesman, together with Robert X, minister of the Buffalo Mosque, sounded the call that received the heaviest applause of the evening. He said: "My people have caught hell long enough. You don't get anything by being polite... the only time you get something is when you let the man know you are fed up!"

The rapidly growing Muslim movement, officially estimated to be between 100,000 to 250,000 strong, has become one of the most significant developments in recent history. Consider the following features of the movement: 1. The mass base of the movement is working class and youth. 2. They militantly oppose all forms of gradualism and tokenism. 3. They champion the dignity and history of the Negro people and militantly attack all forms of white supremacy. 4. They identify their struggle with the oppressed peoples throughout the world and expose Kennedy's hypocritical cold war slogans of defending freedom from the threat of communism. 5. They urge a united front of all Negroes regardless of differences. 6. They are subjected to some of the most brutal attacks by the white ruling class.

Progressive workers should vigorously defend the Muslims from the brutal attacks upon them.

Demands echo across the country - "It's high time to unite" - "Traditional methods to achieve justice are not successful" - "Let the man know we are fed up."

While the movement is developing new heights of militancy and unity, the fact is that the brutal oppression and exploitation of the mass of the Negro people contin-

MUHAMMAD SPEAKS APRIL 1, 1963

# The Cold Facts of 1½ Million Jobless

The gravity of mounting unemployment in the United States was graphically described by President Kennedy as the country's No. 1 economic problem in his special manpower report to Congress.

Unemployment, said the President, represents a loss to the American people of between \$30 billion and \$40 billion a year in loss of additional goods and services.

So great, however, is unemployment among Negroes, and so desperate their economic plight, that losses to them due to joblessness cannot be measured in dollars and cents. With automation snatching from them even the unskilled and semi-skilled jobs left them as crumbs by a hostile society, theirs is now a struggle against death itself.

In its February report, the U.S. Department of Labor showed a rise in national unemployment from 5.8% in January to 6.1% in February.

January figures showed non-whites (Negroes) as 12.7% unemployed and whites 5.9% unemployed. This meant that there were nearly 1½ million jobless Negroes during January.

February figures, however, were even more ominous, with unemployed Negroes reliably reported as reaching 15.3%.

ues unabated. Even after a hundred years, has there been any real change in the second class status for the mass of the American Negro? NO! The rate of Negro unemployment is more than double that of whites. The income of a Negro family averages \$2,000 less than that of a white family. Jim Crow ghettos and segregated schools remain essentially intact, North and South. Police brutality has gotten worse. The lynchers and murderers of Emmett Till and Mack Parker are still free. The KKK and the White Citizens Councils are still free to commit their crimes.

After a hundred years how dare anyone speak of the progress that has been made? It's high time to draw the conclusion that efforts (however militant and united) to reform the capitalist system to eliminate its Jim Crow heart have proven completely impotent. Every reform in the Jim Crow system can be compared to the slave escapes on the Underground Railroad. Each one was heroic; each was to be welcomed and supported, but it did not end the system of slavery. The system of slavery was smashed only when the power of the slave owners was smashed.

To smash forever the monstrous racial system, the power of the modern slave masters must be smashed. They are that small class of white rulers of the economy who control the local, state and federal governments and who make more than \$5 billion a year in extra profits from their extra exploitation of the Negro people. They are the main enemy of the Negro people, the enemy of all working people.

How do they get away with it year after year? To defeat the enemy, it is necessary to understand the tactics they employ to perpetuate their system.

1. They have woven into the very fabric of the American Way of Life the lie of white supremacy to justify the oppression of Negroes as "inferiors" and to divide Negro and white workers in order to better exploit both.

2. They have skillfully developed a division of labor amongst themselves, where one wing (the Dixiecrats)

openly oppose Negro equality while the other wing (the liberal Kennedys and Rockefellers) pose as friends of Negro equality. In that way they contain the struggle in safe, gradualist channels by getting the mass of the people to support their liberal wing as opposed to their Dixiecrat wing.

3. When they are put under pressure, they grant concessions on the unessential (such as token integration or introduce civil rights legislation that is never enforced). This gives the illusion that great social progress is being made while the mass of the people remain as oppressed as ever.

4. When capable Negro reform leaders emerge, they honor and flatter them, appoint them into political positions of no real authority, and integrate them into their state apparatus. This gives the illusion that great political progress is being made while the mass of the people remain oppressed as ever and without any political power.

5. Their main tactic remains intimidation and terror-police brutality, mass raids and arrests, frameups, legal and illegal lynchings, KKK and White Citizen Council violence, economic threats against the little you now get, such as the threat of being thrown off welfare.

6. Finally, they strive to isolate revolutionary leaders from the masses by red-baiting and anti-communist hysteria, and if this doesn't succeed to jail them or drive them into exile (Robert Williams).

The entire state apparatus, the economic and educational institutions, the mass media of communications are all controlled by the white ruling class and used by them to perpetuate their profitable Jim Crow capitalist system.

In our statement on Hazard (Feb. P. L. Vol. 2 No. 2). Progressive Labor said: "The Kentucky miners have made their choice. They have started the historic sweep to determine their own destiny. They have swept aside the phony union leaders. They have no illusions that the Federal Government gives a damn about them. They have been met by terror, and they have armed in self-defense. They will not turn the other cheek to be kicked in the face again."

The working class can unite and will unite because our life experience teaches us that we must unite if we are to survive. White workers too say "We are fed-up with this system of unemployment and poverty for us while the Rockefellers and Kennedys make billions."

But it is understandable that the Negro worker should be suspicious of his white brother. It is understandable that the Negro worker should reply to this call for unity with, "I've heard that before, Charlie, and every time there's been 'unity' in the trade unions it's been the unity of the white workers on top and the black workers on the bottom." It is more than understandable. It is healthy.

It is, in the first place, up to the white workers and their real leaders to wage a real fight against the bosses and the phony and racist trade union leaders like Dubinsky. It is up to the white workers first to organize a sharp struggle, a struggle to the death against the bosses, before they can expect the black workers to unite. And if white workers are slow to struggle militantly, Negro workers will be slow to unite with them. But Negro workers will not, and should not, wait for their white brothers to get wise before they (the black

## A Strategy for Victory

The main direction for abolishing Jim Crow oppression in the U. S. must be based on the revolutionary objective of smashing the political power of the white ruling class and abolishing the capitalist system which is the source of the oppression. Only a united working class led by revolutionary leadership can have the strength and will to achieve such a revolutionary objective. Therefore the development of a revolutionary socialist movement within the working class and Negro freedom movement is of prime importance.

To achieve such a revolutionary objective, a strategy for victory must be developed. Such a strategy should be based on the following considerations:

1. The main demands that now dominate the Negro freedom movement reflect the demands of the middle class and not the workers and farmers who constitute the overwhelming mass and most oppressed section of the Negro people. The first task is to develop a program that will reflect their demands which essentially evolve around the questions of jobs, land, and social justice.

2. All illusions and reliance on the white ruling class must be smashed. The hypocritical pretensions of the liberal Kennedys and Rockefellers as friends of Negro freedom, together with their white supremacist labor flunkies and their Uncle Tom supporters must be exposed again and again.

3. The basic aim of all mass struggles around immediate programmatic demands must be the conscious revolutionary development of the masses and the organization of a revolutionary vanguard.

4. Finally, a strategy for victory must be based on the understanding that state power can only be won by a united working class leading an alliance of all forces opposed to the white ruling class.

The Muslim demand for a separate state can never be achieved within the frame of the U. S. system of Jim Crow capitalism, and in this regard it should be understood as a revolutionary demand. It's unthinkable that the white ruling class would voluntarily give up a large tract of its land, natural resources, and factories and turn them over to the Negro people. Self-determination for oppressed peoples within a country can only be achieved by smashing the state power of the oppressors. If a significant section of the Negro people still want a separate state, after the workers, Negro and white, have established their own state power, have outlawed all Jim Crow, and run the economy for the general welfare, then a socialist state must guarantee this basic right of oppressed peoples for self-determination, including the right to a separate state.

Can Negro workers trust white workers any more than they can trust the white bosses? Should white workers fight for the rights of Negroes?

Despite the fact that the mass of white workers are still polluted with the ruling class lies about white supremacy which must be continuously fought, in order to sustain their own lives as workers and their families, they too have to fight the white bosses profit system of living off their backs. Through these bitter struggles white workers learn that they can't win if they are not united. And they learn they can't unite if some are going to discriminate against others because of race, creed, color, or sex.